

The Hudson's Bay Company's  
Archives Furnish No Support

TO

The Whitman Saved Oregon Story.

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BY

PRINCIPAL WILLIAM I. MARSHALL,

W. E. Gladstone School, Chicago

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*Queen's University at Kingston*



COMPLIMENTS OF  
*Wm. I. Marshall*

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# THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY'S ARCHIVES FURNISH NO SUPPORT TO THE WHITMAN SAVED OREGON STORY.

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By Principal WILLIAM I. MARSHALL of Chicago.

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The very latest attempt to manufacture evidence to support the Whitman Legend, and the boldest and most foolish considering the ease with which its total falsity can be proved beyond any possibility of dispute, is the following:

Whether the responsibility for it rests entirely on Rev. Newell D. Hillis, or should be divided between him and Rev. S. B. Penrose, president of Whitman College, the reader must decide for himself.

Nov. 3, 1904, the Walla Walla Daily Union (which is in very close relation with Whitman College) published an interview with President Penrose, stating, among other things, that he had attended the ten days' meeting of the Triennial Council of the Congregational Churches of the United States at Des Moines, Iowa, in October, 1904, and continued:

"WHITMAN SAVED OREGON."

"One of the greatest sensations at the Des Moines council was brought out in an address by Dr. Hillis. In speaking of the work of Marcus Whitman, Dr. Hillis placed him among the foremost of home missionaries. In regard to the Whitman controversy, he presented evidence that has never before been brought to light. While in Canada, he had had an interview with a Canadian historian, who is president of the Presbyterian college at Winnipeg. This man has had access to the letters of the Hudson's Bay Company, which have hitherto been held in strict secrecy, and which give positive evidence



that Marcus Whitman saved Oregon to the Union. The Hudson's Bay Company was Whitman's bitterest enemy, and sought in every way to forestall his plans."

The extracts from the letters and journals of Whitman and his associates in the Oregon Mission (most of them heretofore unpublished), in the Chapter on "The Truth About the Relation of the Hudson's Bay Company to the American Exploration, Occupation and Settlement of the Oregon Territory" in my book (just finished) on "The History of the Acquisition of Oregon, and the Long-Suppressed Evidence About Marcus Whitman," demonstrate beyond any possibility of doubt the total falsity of the above statement that, "The Hudson's Bay Company was Whitman's bitterest enemy, and sought in every way to forestall his plans."

#### HUDSON'S BAY CO.'S OFFICERS ASSISTED THE MISSIONARIES.

The simple facts are, that the missions of the American Board to the Oregon Indians could not have been established, or maintained after they were established, if the Hudson's Bay Company had been inimical to them, and that Whitman and all his associates received from the officers and men of the H. B. Co. at Forts Hall and Boise on the way out, and at Forts Vancouver, Walla Walla and Colville after they arrived at them, the kindest possible treatment, and were assisted not only in founding their mission stations, by gifts of seeds and provisions and other necessities, but were helped during the whole continuance of the mission in various ways, and were on the friendliest terms with the various officers of the company—McLeod, McKay, McKinlay, McLoughlin, Ermatinger, McDonald, Ogden, Douglas and John Lee Lewes, and others—during the whole existence of the mission.

All this nonsense about antagonism between Whitman and the H. B. Co. is a part of the Whitman Saved Oregon Story, and is squarely contradictory to everything in their letters and journals while the mission existed. (Cf. Appendix hereto for a small part of that evidence.)

Not being able for some weeks after reading this article to get hold of Dr. Hillis' sermon, and not wishing to be in the least degree unjust to him, I promptly wrote him a courteous letter, quoting what the Walla Walla Union had stated about his address at the Des Moines Council, and asking him if the Union had correctly reported him, and, if so, what is the name and postoffice address of the said Canadian historian. I have sent him during the past ten weeks four copies of this letter, enclosing in each of them a stamped directed envelope for reply, and registered the second one to make certain that the address was correct, and that he received it, but he has made

no reply, though he might have answered my two questions in ten words. He has also declined to answer similar letters of inquiry from Prof. F. H. Hodder of the University of Kansas, who is a well-known member of the American Historical Association.

Dr. Hillis' address at Des Moines was printed in the "*Home Missionary*" for December, 1904 (pp. 275-83), and on pages 280-81 it reads as follows:

"But now open to the pages of the Hudson's Bay Company—those splendid volumes published by Longmans and Green. Call that distinguished historian, their author, into the stand. He will tell you that the Hudson's Bay Company ruled Canada, once called Prince Rupert's land; that they had the power of life and death, as well as of making laws, and that they controlled western Canada, by their factors, like old Dr. McLoughlin, who was their great man on the Columbia River, and who watched Whitman and his moves and sent Indian runners with messages to Montreal. Last summer this distinguished historian said to me at a dinner: 'Your President did not understand the importance of Oregon and Washington, your Daniel Webster did not know about the country.

"My people thought they had it, and we would have the richest section of the Pacific slope but for that missionary of yours, Marcus Whitman, who crossed the continent in winter, endured the pitiless rains and snows, swam his horse through stream and river midst floating ice, and startled Webster and the President by the story of the resources of the land we coveted.'"

This, with what President Penrose said about the Canadian historian being the president of the Presbyterian College at Winnipeg, positively identified him as Rev. George Bryce, D. D., LL.D.

Note how adroitly Dr. Hillis conveys the impression, without making the positive assertion, that this historian had obtained from his examination of the H. B. Co.'s archives certain proof that Whitman saved Oregon, though when he comes to state what that historian actually said to him, it is nothing from the H. B. Co.'s archives, but merely an echo of what that historian—or anybody else—would acquire from reading and believing Spalding's pamphlet, or Barrow's "Oregon," or Nixon's "How Marcus Whitman Saved Oregon," or Craighead's "Story of Marcus Whitman," or Mowry's "Marcus Whitman and the Early Days of Oregon," or Mrs. Eva Emery Dye's "McLoughlin and Old Oregon," or any one of the many other equally fictitious books, pamphlets, or magazine or newspaper articles advocating the Whitman Legend.

I at once wrote to Dr. Bryce, calling his attention to the fact that Dr. Hillis and President Penrose stated that he had discovered in the archives of the H. B. Co. proof that Dr. Marcus Whitman had saved Oregon to the United States, and asking him if he had found any such matter in the archives



of the H. B. Co., and, if so, requesting him to send me a transcript of the documents with bill for the same, and I would immediately remit.

DR. BRYCE KNOWS NOTHING ABOUT WHITMAN.

Dr. Bryce promptly replied, under date of Winnipeg, Jan. 30, 1905, as follows:

"I have received several letters about the 'Whitman Controversy.' I am not sure whether Dr. Hillis refers to me or not. I dined with him at the house of a friend in Winnipeg, but can remember no definite statement made by me in conversation. . . . However, I know nothing of the Whitman matter."

So instead of "positive proof having been found in the archives of the H. B. Co. that Whitman saved Oregon to the United States," the distinguished Canadian historian who has searched those archives most extensively for the materials of his "The Remarkable History of the Hudson's Bay Company," not only did not in that book even mention the name of Marcus Whitman, but, on being questioned directly as to whether or not he had found any evidence in those archives about Whitman having saved Oregon to the United States, declares point blank: "I know nothing of the Whitman matter," and any further comment on it is certainly unnecessary; while Rev. Dr. Hillis and Rev. S. B. Penrose may be left to crawl out of the awkward position in which they have placed themselves as best they can. I am reliably informed that President Penrose has taken great pains to have this purely bogus "evidence" given very wide circulation.

DR. HILLIS' PROFOUND IGNORANCE.

As showing the amazing density of Dr. Hillis' ignorance on this subject about which he spoke so glibly, and with such an air of authority at Des Moines, it is proper to remark:

First. That Longmans and Green have not published any volumes, "splendid" or otherwise, relating to the Hudson's Bay Company, as they inform me by letter dated Feb. 20, 1905. Two Canadian historians have written histories of the H. B. Co., viz., Beckles Willson, "The Great Company," published by the Clark-Copp Company, Toronto, Canada, 1899; and Rev. George Bryce, "The Remarkable History of the Hudson's Bay Company," published by Sampson Low, Marston & Co., London, 1900. Though both are valuable and interesting books neither one is, in any proper sense of the term, a "splendid volume," and neither one so much as mentions the name of Dr. Whitman.



Second. The Hudson's Bay Company never "ruled Canada," nor any, even the smallest fraction of Canada.

Third. Canada was never called "Prince Rupert's Land." Where Canada ended Prince Rupert's Land began.

Fourth. The Hudson's Bay Company did not "have power of life and death" even in Prince Rupert's Land, being expressly forbidden by act of Parliament even to try any offender, upon any charge or indictment, for any felony to which the penalty of capital punishment was attached, or to try any civil suit or action in which the cause of such suit or action exceeded £200 in value.

All such offenders and civil suits they were compelled to send to Upper Canada (now the Province of Ontario) for trial; and in any of the cases they *were* allowed to try, the right of appeal was expressly reserved.

It must also be remembered about this matter, that under the barbarous laws of England at that time no less than 160 offenses were felonies to which the penalty of capital punishment was attached, which left the H. B. Co. no authority to try and punish for any offenses graver than what we now should call mere misdemeanors, instead of "having the power of life and death."

This Act of Parliament was printed in full by our government more than once, in connection with Congressional discussions and diplomatic negotiations about the Oregon question, and is also to be found in "Greenhow's Oregon and California," edition of 1845, pp. 467-472.

Fifth. They never for one moment "controlled Western Canada," nor Eastern Canada, nor any part of Canada; but they controlled the region west of Canada, which is a very different thing from "Western Canada."

Sixth. Whitman made no "moves" which Dr. McLoughlin "watched" or needed to watch.

Seventh. McLoughlin sent no "Indian runners to Montreal" from Oregon.

Annually in the spring, as soon as navigation was open, the express for Montreal left Ft. Vancouver, on the Columbia, going by boats and portages as far up the river as possible, and then on horseback across the Rockies to the head of boat navigation on the Saskatchewan, and thence by boats with many portages by Lake Winnipeg, Rainy Lake, Lake Superior, Georgian Bay and the Ottawa River, and many smaller lakes and rivers and portages, arriving at its destination generally in October.

All of these things to which Dr. Hillis said Dr. Bryce if "called into the stand" would "testify," are thus proven to be

merely the vagaries of the ill-regulated imagination of an emotional rhetorician, concerning himself not with advancing the cause of truth, but only with turning fine periods, and creating a sensation in a Missionary meeting address, and it is absolutely certain that neither "that distinguished Canadian historian" nor anyone else even moderately acquainted with the history of the H. B. Co. would "testify" to a single one of them.

In what Dr. Hillis says about Prof. Bourne's very scholarly, temperate and just essay on "The Whitman Legend," he is as indifferent to the truth as in his statements about the H. B. Co. and Canada and Prince Rupert's Land, and the only charitable view of the matter is that he has never thought it any more needful to read Prof. Bourne's essay carefully before denouncing it than he did to read Dr. Bryce's "History of the Hudson's Bay Company" before substituting for its accurate information his own sensational fancies.

If Dr. Hillis will canvass all the professors of American history in all the universities of our country, and in all the colleges (except the distinctively Congregational and Presbyterian Colleges), he will find that fully nine-tenths of them (and also as large a proportion of the authors of American historical works that have a national or international reputation, who are not professors of history in universities and colleges) endorse Prof. Bourne's "Legend of Marcus Whitman," as presenting absolutely irresistible evidence in support of every important conclusion it states against the theory that Marcus Whitman saved all, or any, even the smallest part, of the old Oregon Territory to the United States.

Note.—The foregoing was published in the Sunday Oregonian of Portland, Ore., March 26, 1905. May 20, 1905, after a delay of more than five months, Rev. Dr. Hillis wrote me the following letter, in which the reader will see that he carefully avoids answering either of the two questions I asked him in my four letters.

Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, N. Y.

May 20, 1905.

Mr. William I. Marshall:

My Dear Sir:—Immediately upon the receipt of your letter I wrote the gentleman in Winnipeg who made the statement to me about Whitman. For a long time I had no reply, and when it came he practically said that I misunderstood him; but as he made the statement in the presence of half a dozen gentlemen, and there was the deepest interest in the conversation, I am sure that I quoted him with entire accuracy.

I am to be in Winnipeg in July, and I am going to see him personally, and have the issue out. I have been overwhelmed with work through the illness and resignation of my assistant pastor, and for weeks at a time have been unable to even read my letters.

Very truly yours,

Newell Dwight Hillis.



## APPENDIX.

Having utterly demolished the claim that the Hudson's Bay Company's archives contain proof that Whitman saved Oregon, it seems advisable to quote a little of the vast mass of contemporaneous evidence so long and sedulously suppressed by the Whitmanites (and which has been sufficient, when fully quoted, to convince every real historian who has read it in my manuscripts that there is no truth in any form of the Whitman Saved Oregon Story).

The limited space available will permit only a few brief extracts from the letters and diaries of Rev. S. Parker, Dr. Whitman, Mrs. Whitman, Rev. H. H. Spalding, Mrs. Spalding, Rev. Cushing Eells, Mrs. Cushing Eells, Rev. E. Walker and Mrs. Elkanah Walker, which are quoted much more fully in the chapters on "The Discovery of Routes Practicable for and the Development of the First Transcontinental Wagon Road, 1806-1845," and on "The Truth About the Relation of the Hudson's Bay Company to the American Exploration, Occupation and Settlement of the Oregon Territory," in my forthcoming "History of the Acquisition of Oregon, and the Long Suppressed Evidence About Marcus Whitman."

Brief as these extracts are, they prove beyond any possibility of dispute that the following claims of the Whitmanites are pure fictions:

### SEVEN PURE FICTIONS OF THE WHITMANITES.

First. That the Spalding-Whitman party took "a quart of seed wheat to Oregon" in 1836, and thereby introduced the cultivation of wheat there. The truth is, that they received, as an unsolicited present from the Hudson's Bay Company, as had the Methodist Mission in 1834, and as did the Eells-Walker-Smith re-enforcement to the Am. Bd. Mission in 1838, *not* "a quart," but many bushels of seed wheat and other grains, and a liberal supply of provisions and live stock to enable them to start their mission stations well and live comfortably till they could raise a crop.

Second. That Whitman and his associates, on July 4, 1836, in the Southern Pass,

"Dismounted. Then spreading their blankets and lifting the American flag, they all kneeled around the Book, and with prayer and praise took possession of the western side of the Continent for Christ and the Church"—('Cf. Barrows' Oregon' (p. 134); 'Spalding's Pamphlet' (Sen. Ex. Doc. 37, 41st Cong., 3d Sess.), (pp. 11 and 75); Nixon's 'How Marcus Whitman Saved Oregon' (pp. 77-8); Mowry's 'Marcus Whitman' (p. 72); Coffin's 'Building of the Nation' (p. 374); 'Heroes of the Cross in America' (p. 146); 'The Leavening of the Nation' (p. 195).'" "How Oregon was saved to the Union," by George L. Weed, in "Ladies' Home Journal," November, 1897, pp. 9-10.)

Third. That the H. B. Co. opposed Whitman's taking his wagon in 1836 beyond Ft. Hall.

Fourth. That owing to H. B. Co.'s opposition the wagon was reduced to a cart at Ft. Hall.

Fifth. That Whitman, with intense patriotism, and great wisdom and foresight, was determined to do, and did do, everything possible to open a wagon road to Oregon.

Sixth. That there was a spirit of antagonism on the part of the H. B. Co. to the establishment and continuance of American Missions in Oregon.

Seventh. That (as charged by Gray, Barrows, Craighead et al.) after the arrival of the Catholic missionaries in the autumn of 1838, there was a marked change in the conduct of the H. B. Co. towards Whitman and his associate missionaries.

#### FIRST. THE "QUART OF SEED WHEAT."

First. As to the "Quart of Seed Wheat" (which was not in any of the original forms of the Whitman Legend, but first made its appearance in an article in the Chicago Advance—the Congregationalist organ—of Dec. 1, 1870, in what purported to be an interview with Rev. H. H. Spalding, and is quoted in Spalding's pamphlet, (Ex. Doc. 37, pp. 8-12), it is used as part of the Whitman Saved Oregon Story by Barrows (who devotes a chapter to it and later, forgetting that he had devoted a whole chapter to it, as a *quart*, says it was a half pint, as does Rev. Dr. Gunsaulus in his introduction to Nixon's "How Marcus Whitman Saved Oregon"); and by Coffin, Mowry et al.

Rev. Dr. Humphrey, for many years in charge of the Chicago branch office of the Am. Bd. C. of F. M., told me in 1888 that he wrote out this "interview" for Mr. Spalding.

May 20, 1836, Rev. H. H. Spalding wrote from Otoe Indian Agency, to D. Greene, secretary, as follows:

"We have now a very limited supply of everything; we find we must leave many things we consider almost indispensable.

"My classical and theological books will nearly all be left. We can take almost nothing in the line of mechanical tools and farming utensils, but very little clothing, no seeds except a few garden seeds."

Nothing has hitherto been printed from this letter. A little further on we shall learn how they obtained seed wheat.

#### SECOND. "THE PURELY MYTHICAL TAKING POSSESSION OF OREGON," ON JULY 4, 1836.

Second. As to the "taking possession of the western half of the continent," on July 4, 1836, under the folds of the American flag, etc.



Mrs. Whitman wrote a letter in the form of a diary, begun June 27, and ending July 16, 1836, describing their journey from Liberty, Mo., to the Fur Traders' Rendezvous in Green River Valley, which was published in *Trans. Or. Pi. Assn.*, 1891 (pp. 40 to 43), but there is nothing whatever in it about anything which happened on July 4, 1836, or about any American flag being unfurled then or at any other time by the mission party, or about any "taking possession" of the whole or any part of the western half of the continent.

Mrs. Spalding also kept a diary of the whole journey, and all she recorded in it under date of July 4, 1836, is the following:

"Crossed a ridge of land today called the Divide, which separates the waters that flow into the Pacific from those that flow into the Atlantic, and camped for the night on the head waters of the Colorado.

"A number of Nez Perces, who have been waiting our arrival at the Rendezvous several days, on learning we were near came out to meet us, and have camped with us tonight. They appear to be gratified to see us actually on our way to their country. Mr. Spalding, Dr. Whitman and Mr. G. are to have a talk with the chiefs this eve."

Even the myth loving Rev. Myron Eells was satisfied from this absence of all mention of any ceremony of "taking possession," by Mrs. Spalding, that no such thing occurred, as he told me in July, 1902.

But Whitman also wrote a letter covering 6½ pages foolscap, on July 16, 1836, from the Rendezvous, in which there is not one word about any "unfurling the American flag and taking possession of the western half of the continent" in the So. Pass, on July 4, or at any other time or place.

Rev. H. H. Spalding also wrote a letter from Rendezvous, begun July 8, 1836, and finished July 12, covering 3¾ pages closely written foolscap, and he also did not write one word about any such ceremony in the So. Pass on July 4th, or at any other time or place.

Furthermore, there is not the remotest probability that this mission party had any United States flag, for not only is there no mention of the flag in any of the letters and diaries of any of these missionaries—amounting to nearly or quite a million words—during the whole time the mission existed, but none of the letters, or journals, or reports to the government of the various patriotic Americans who were at Whitman's mission station, Thomas J. Farnham in 1839, two parties from Lieutenant Wilkes' Exploring Expedition in 1841, Dr. Elijah White, Lansford W. Hastings and Medorem Crawford in 1842, Lieutenant Fremont and Peter H. Burnet in 1843,

Col. Wm. Gilpin in November, 1843, and May, 1844, Joel Palmer in 1845 and 1846, say one word about any United States flag there. Certainly some one or more of them would have made some mention of the flag had there been one in sight there.

Still further, going into a territory which by express provision of two treaties was equally open to the subjects and citizens of Great Britain and the United States, and over no part of which could either government assert any form of sovereignty till that express provision should be abrogated, it would have been grossly improper for these missionaries, who had not the remotest connection, direct or indirect, with any service of the United States Government, to have hoisted any United States flag in any part of the Oregon Territory; and there is not a particle of contemporaneous evidence that any missionary to the Oregon Indians at any of their mission stations, or anywhere else in the old Oregon Territory, did so improper an act as to hoist a United States flag till on Nov. 4, 1846, news was received and published in an extra of the Oregon Spectator of the ratification by the Senate, on June 18, 1846, of the treaty fixing 49 degrees as the boundary.

That the Government Exploring Expeditions of Lieut. Chas. Wilkes, in 1841, and of Lieut. John C. Fremont in 1843 should hoist the National flag at their several encampments was entirely proper, as they represented the navy and army of the United States, and being on exploring expeditions their display of the flag could not be misconstrued as any claim of territorial sovereignty.

It was also entirely proper that the H. B. Co., at its several posts, should hoist the British flag, as they directly represented the British Government, their officers being authorized by the Act of Parliament heretofore mentioned to try and give judgment, (as to British subjects) in civil cases not exceeding £200, and to arrest British criminals and try and punish them for minor offenses, and send them to Canada for trial for greater crimes.

The original forms of the Whitman Saved Oregon Story contained not a word about this "taking possession," and, so far as yet discovered, it first appeared in that same "Interview" with Spalding in the Chicago Advance, of Dec. 1, 1870, which contained the equally fictitious story of the "Quart of Seed Wheat." It is, however, quoted on page 75 of Spalding's pamphlet (Ex. Doc. 37), as a part of some Resolutions of the Pleasant Bute Baptist Church of Brownsville, Ore., adopted Oct. 22, 1869. That Ex. Doc. was not printed, however, until more than two months after the Advance "Interview."



THIRD, FOURTH AND FIFTH. THE EXACT FACTS ABOUT WHITMAN'S WAGON IN 1836.

Third, Fourth and Fifth. As to the "Whitman's old wagon" myth, and the claims that his attempt to drive his wagon to the Columbia was opposed by the H. B. Co., and that, owing to that opposition, he was compelled to reduce it to a cart at Ft. Hall, and that his effort to get a wagon through against the strong opposition of that company was proof of great heroism, indomitable courage, patriotic foresight and desperate determination to defeat the H. B. Co.'s opposition and open a wagon road to Oregon.

As both Mrs. Whitman and Mrs. Spalding kept diaries of this journey, and both Dr. Whitman and Mr. Spalding wrote letters in September, 1836, in which the facts about the wagon and its fate are explicitly stated, we have abundance of evidence (*all* of which every advocate of the Whitman Saved Oregon Story has carefully concealed from his readers) to enable us to know the truth about this innocent and unimportant vehicle, and those who have accepted as trustworthy authorities Gray's History, and Spalding's Pamphlet, and Barrows, Nixon, Craighead, Mowry, Rev. M. Eells, Mrs. Dye's "McLoughlin and Old Oregon," Prof. Lyman, President Penrose, D. H. Montgomery's "Leading Facts (?) of American History," Rev. H. W. Parker, George Ludington Weed and all the other inventors or endorsers of the fictions about Whitman's wagon, will be greatly surprised to read what Mr. and Mrs. Whitman and Mr. and Mrs. Spalding wrote while on the journey and immediately after its conclusion, and no less so at what they did *not* write in the next six years. May 5, 1836, Whitman wrote to D. Greene, Secretary, from

"Cantonment Leavenworth": "We have one wagon for ladies and one for baggage."

The same letter hereinbefore quoted from Rev. H. H. Spalding to D. Greene, Secretary, dated Otoe Agency, May 20, 1836, says:

"We have two hired men, one Nez Perce, a faithful and valuable young man, besides Richard and John, 10 of us in all. Two wagons, 13 horses, 6 mules, 17 head of cattle, including calves. We think it best to take the wagons to the Black Hills with horses, then our packing animals will be packed for the remainder of the journey with sound backs."

Spalding's before-mentioned letter of July 8, 1836, from Rendezvous, to D. Greene, Secretary, says:

"We have got our wagon to this place without much difficulty and shall probably take it through."

A postscript on margin of page 1 says:

"Mr. McLeod, a director of the Fur Co., arrived in camp today, 12th of July, from Walla Walla, bringing letter from Mr. Parker. Arrangements are made for us to return in his company. It seems the most marked Providence in our favor of any we have yet experienced. Now all anxieties respecting a long and dangerous route with the Indians cease. We have now a safe convoy that will conduct us immediately to the spot. We find Mr. McLeod very friendly and well disposed towards our object. He says he will render us any assistance in his power."

Mrs. Whitman's diary (Tr. O. P. A., 1891, p. 42) says:

"Since we came up with the camp I rode in the wagons most of the way to the Black Hills. It is astonishing how well we get along with our wagons where there are no roads. I think I may say it is easier travelling here than on any turnpike in the States."

(P. 43.) Under date of July 14, 1836, she wrote:

"We are now at the Rocky Mountains, at the encampment of Messrs. McLeod and McKay, expecting to leave on Monday morning for Walla Walla. It seems a special favor that company has come to Rendezvous this season; for otherwise we would have had to have gone with the Indians a difficult route, and so slow that we should have been late at Walla Walla, and not have had the time we wanted to make preparations for winter."

Mrs. Spalding's diary, under date of June 15, 1836, at Ft. William (*i. e.*, Ft. Laramie), says:

"We are camped near the fort and shall probably remain here several days, as the Company" (*i. e.*, the American Fur Co.) "leave their wagons at this post and make arrangements to transport their goods the remainder of the journey on mules."

Returning again to Mrs. Whitman's diary (Tr., 1891, p. 44):

"July 25, 1836.—Husband has had a tedious time with the wagon today. It got stuck in the creek this morning when crossing, and he was obliged to wade considerably in getting it out. After that, in going between the mountains, on the side of one, so steep that it was difficult for horses to pass, the wagon was upset twice; did not wonder at this at all; it was a greater wonder that it was not turning somersaults continually. It is not very grateful to my feelings to see him wearing out with such excessive fatigue, as I am obliged to. He is not as fleshy as he was last winter. All the most difficult part of the way he has walked in laborious attempts to take the wagon."

(P. 45.) "July 28th.—One of the axletrees of the wagon broke today; was a little rejoiced, for we were in hopes they would leave it and have no more trouble with it. Our rejoicing was in vain, for they are making a cart of the back wheels this afternoon and lashing the fore wheels to it, intending to take it through in some shape or other. They are so resolute and untiring in their efforts they will probably succeed."

This, it will be noticed, was *not* at Ft. Hall (where all the advocates of the Whitman Legend represent Whitman as reducing his wagon to a cart on account of the opposition of



the Hudson's Bay Company to its going any further'), but six days' journey east of Ft. Hall, at which place, according to Mrs. Spalding's diary, they arrived a little after noon of August 3d.

(P. 49.) Friday, August 12, Mrs. Whitman's diary says:

"Dear Harriet.—The little trunk you gave me has come with me so far, and now I must leave it here alone. . . . The hills are so steep and rocky that husband thought it best to lighten the wagon as much as possible and take nothing but the wheels, leaving the box" (i. e., the rude box he made out of the wagon body on July 28, when the breaking of the axle compelled him to make his wagon into a cart) "with my trunk."

(P. 50.) "Sat., Aug. 13. We have come fifteen miles and have had the worst route in all the journey for the cart. We might have had a better one but for being misled by some of the company, who started out before the leaders. It was two o'clock before we came into camp." . . . Describing the crossing of the Snake River: "Husband had considerable difficulty in crossing the cart. Both cart and mules were turned upside down in the river and entangled in the harness. The mules would have been drowned but for a desperate struggle to get them ashore. Then after putting two of the strongest horses before the cart, and two men swimming behind to steady it, they succeeded in getting it across."

(P. 52.) "Aug. 22.—As for the wagon, it is left at the fort, and I have nothing to say about crossing it at this time. Five of our cattle were left there also, to be exchanged for others at Walla Walla. Perhaps you will wonder why we have left the wagon, having taken it so nearly through. Our animals were failing, and the route in crossing the Blue Mountains is said to be impassable for it. We have the prospect of obtaining one in exchange at Vancouver. If we do not, we shall send for it, when we have been to so much labor in getting it thus far. It is a useful article in the country."

Turning now to Whitman's own letters, we find every advocate of the Whitman Legend has failed not only to quote from, but in any way to allude to the existence of the following two, written to Rev. D. Greene, Secretary:

"Encampment of Messrs. McCloud and McCay" (should be McLeod and McKay, W. I. M.) "near Green River, 10 m. from Rendezvous, July 16, 1836.—Our greatest difficulty was to bring our cattle up to the forced march of the company" (i. e., the Am. Fur Co., or Fitzpatrick and Dripps), "and with our wagon, one of which we have brought to this place, and expect to take it through the whole journey. Most of the difficulty with the wagon originated from the forced marches manner of travelling, the company having one cart only from Ft. William to Rendezvous. When we first met the Inds. we did not know of any other company with whom we could go, and intended to accommodate ourselves to their route, although we might have to go out of our way to accommodate them for buffalo, and should be detained for them to kill and dry their winter's supply of meat. But by the arrival of Messrs. McCloud and McCay we are furnished with a safe and direct escort to Walla Walla, and have availed ourselves of their company and protection. We received the most flattering encouragement from these gentlemen, one of whom,

Mr. McCloud, is a partner in the N. W. Fur Co." (should be H. B. Co., W. I. M.) "that we should have every facility on our journey, and all necessary supplies of goods, provisions, etc., at Walla Walla."

Sept. 15, 1836, Whitman wrote from Ft. Walla Walla:

"We have received the kindest hospitality from those with whom we have travelled, but more especially since we joined the camp of Messrs. McLeod and McKay. For most of the way that we travelled with them we were in a country where there is but little game, yet by their great exertion they often obtained some, and whenever they were so fortunate we were sure to share largely with them. We brought our wagon and all our cattle to Snake Fort" (Ft. Boise), "about 250 miles above this post on Lewis (or as called here Snake) River. The wagon we left subject to future order."

Sept. 20, 1836, H. H. Spalding wrote a very long letter to D. Greene, Secretary, from Ft. Vancouver, from which copious extracts were printed in the Miss. Herald for October, 1837, but every advocate of the Whitman Saved Oregon Story has always carefully refrained from quoting from it or even mentioning it.

In it he wrote:

"We drove a wagon to Snake Fort, and could have driven it through but for the fatigue of our animals; expect to get it at some future time."

WHITMAN AND MRS. WHITMAN SPALDING AND MRS. SPALDING  
DID NOT WRITE ONE WORD ABOUT A WAGON ROAD FOR MORE  
THAN SIX YEARS AFTER REACHING OREGON.

From these dates, Sept. 15, 1836, for Whitman, and Sept. 20, 1836, for Spalding, the word wagon does not occur again, nor one word about a wagon road in all the voluminous correspondence of Whitman, Spalding and Mrs. Whitman, till after Whitman had returned from Boston to Missouri, in May, 1843, except that Mrs. Whitman, in a letter to her husband, begun October 4, and finished Oct. 17, 1842, describing the kindness of McKinlay, the H. B. Co. agent in command of Ft. Walla Walla (in whose charge her husband had left her), in taking her from the mission station to Walla Walla on Oct. 11, 1842, wrote:

"I am now at Walla Walla; came here yesterday; was too unwell to undertake the journey, but could not refuse, as Mr. McKinlay had come on purpose to take me. He came in the wagon and brought the trundle bed, and I lay down most of the way."

This failure to even mention wagon or wagon road for more than six years after their arrival in Oregon shows just how intense was their interest in the "desperate," or "patriotic," or "heroic," or "resolute" "attempt to open up a passage on

wheels to Oregon." (Cf. Tr. Or. Pi. Asscn., 1891, p. 166, for this letter of Mrs. W.)

There is not in all the voluminous correspondence and the fragments of journals of these missionaries, not only during this journey but subsequently during the whole continuance of the mission, and even after its destruction on account of the Whitman massacre during all the years to the invention of the Whitman Saved Oregon Story, a single sentence that gives any intimation that Whitman in trying to get his wagon through to Ft. Hall, or the rude cart to which it was reduced by the breaking of the axle six days' journey east of Ft. Hall, and finally the wheels and one axle only, through to Ft. Boise, was influenced by any greater or loftier motive than that stated by Mrs. Whitman above, viz.: "It is a useful article in the country." Nor did Whitman, in all the extravagant and unwarranted claims he made of service to the Government, in letters after his return to Oregon in September, 1843, down to his death, (Cf. Ch. VII, Part 2, of my "History of the Acquisition of Oregon," etc.) ever write one word about his driving this wagon, and its reduction to a cart and finally to a pair of wheels driven to and left at Ft. Boise "on account of the fatigue of our animals." The evidence in the diaries of Mrs. Whitman and Mrs. Spalding and the letters of Dr. Whitman and Mr. Spalding is absolutely irrefutable that from the time McLeod and McKay invited them to join their camp, on July 9, 1836, at Green River, these H. B. Co.'s officials and employes treated them with the greatest possible kindness.

GREAT KINDNESS OF H. B. CO. TRADERS MCLEOD AND MCKAY  
IN 1836.

The following is only one of many grateful acknowledgments in Mrs. Whitman's diary (as printed in 1891, Trans. Or. Pi. Asscn.) of the great and constant kindness of Messrs. McLeod and McKay, but, curiously enough, in no book, or magazine or newspaper article advocating the Whitman Saved Oregon Story can one find a single sentence of her acknowledgments of their indebtedness to these H. B. Co. officials quoted nor even alluded to:

"Aug. 27 (1836).—Came in sight of the hill that leads to the Grand Ronde. This morning Mr. McLeod remained behind in pursuit of game and did not come into camp until we had made a long nooning, although we had begun to feel a little concerned about him; yet about 3 o'clock he came into camp loaded with wild ducks, having taken twenty-two. Now, mother, he has, just as he always did during the whole journey, sent over nine of them." Trans., '91, p. 53.)



It should be remembered that none of this party of H. B. Co. officers and men had the least acquaintance with any one of this party of Am. Missionaries, that there were no letters of introduction to them, that they were not under the least conceivable special obligation—political, religious, fraternal or financial—to do anything whatever to help these missionaries to get over the longest and most dreaded part of their journey, and that they were traveling with saddle and pack animals, so that (as all of us well know who have had experience, as the writer has repeatedly had, with a mixed cavalcade of saddle and pack animals and wagons), to undertake to convoy a party with a wagon, even over a region where there was a plainly marked road, would inevitably mean some trouble and delay to them, and much more over a region where no road had been even located, and where, consequently (though the route was easily practicable for a wagon road), there must necessarily be considerable time consumed in determining where and for how long distances it was necessary to depart from the saddle trail, to find a route over which a wagon could be driven.

They would, therefore, have been perfectly justified had they said to the missionary party at Green River: "We shall be glad to have you travel with our party, if you will leave the wagon here since it must be no small delay to our movements to have it taken further."

And had they said this it would not have been the slightest evidence of any "fear of," or any "antagonism to," the development of the wagon road further into Oregon.

NO OPPOSITION BY H. B. CO. TO "WHITMAN'S WAGON" IN 1836.

There is not in Mrs. Whitman's nor in Mrs. Spalding's diaries nor in any of the contemporaneous letters of the Spaldings, Whitmans and Mr. W. H. Gray the least intimation that at any point on the journey the H. B. Co. people made the least objection to the wagon, or in any way opposed the effort to take it through, but the opposition was chiefly from Mrs. Whitman (who, like many another bride, thought her husband was working too hard), and also from others of the missionary party who evidently thought "the game not worth the candle."

Beyond Boise the fragments of Whitman's wagon never went, though why Whitman should have been so completely destitute of all interest in the subject of a wagon road for six and a half years after he left it there, as not only not to have sent for it, but never again to have written the words wagon or wagon road in any of his letters from Sept. 15, 1836, to May 28, 1843, is an utterly unsolvable mystery. Various advocates of the Whitman Legend have asserted that Whit-

man's old wagon subsequently went through to the Willamette or to Walla Walla, but no one of them has produced any proof of it.

Gray in an article in the *Oregonian*, Feb. 1, 1885, reprinted in the "Whitman Controversy," (pamphlet) Portland, 1885, (p. 29), declares that he saw Whitman's wagon at Boise in 1838, as Farnham did (in 1839), but even he dares not affirm that it was ever taken beyond there, and though he says (p. 31):

"The wagon was not abandoned, but left for Gray to bring through at some future time,"

he vouchsafes no information as to why he never brought it through. He speaks of it as a wagon all through this article, though he well knew that it was (as Farnham states it) but "the thills, one axle and a pair of wheels."

SIX AND SEVEN. NOT ONLY NO OPPOSITION BY THE H. B. CO. TO AMERICAN MISSIONARIES IN OREGON, BUT THEY HELPED THEM ALL TO ESTABLISH AND MAINTAIN THEIR MISSIONS.

As to 6 and 7. That not only was there not the least opposition on the part of the H. B. Co. to Americans going to Oregon to establish missions, but that the H. B. Co. treated them all with the utmost kindness, and as long as the mission existed rendered them help that was indispensable in establishing and maintaining their several mission stations, and that there was no change in these friendly relations between the various Am. Bd. Missionaries and the H. B. Co. officers after the arrival of the Catholic missionaries (which was in 1838), is established beyond dispute by the foregoing extracts from the letters and diaries of the Whitman-Spalding party, and by the following necessarily brief extracts from the scores of pages of the same tenor in the letters and diaries of Rev. S. Parker, Dr. and Mrs. Whitman, Rev. and Mrs. H. H. Spalding, Rev. and Mrs. C. Eells, Rev. and Mrs. E. Walker.

In 1835 Rev. Samuel Parker went to Oregon to explore for a location for the Am. Bd. Mission, and this is what the "Miss. Herald"—the official organ of the Am. Bd.—had to say (on p. 455 of its issue of Nov., 1836,) about the "antagonism" and "opposition to the establishment of American missions on the part of the H. B. Co.," which he encountered:

"Communications have been received from Mr. Parker dated May 21, 1836. . . . He received much aid and numerous kind attentions from the gentlemen connected with the Hudson's Bay Co. . . . Facilities have been afforded him by them for exploring large tracts of country not otherwise easily accessible by him."

*Idem*, March, 1837 (p. 124): "Mr. Parker makes a grateful mention of the kind and polite treatment he had received from the officers of the Company, who, together with the gentlemen engaged in trade from the U. S., with whom he travelled through the mountains, had borne nearly all his expenses of conveyance, clothing and subsistence, he not having been obliged to spend more than two dollars in money from the time he left the Missouri till his arrival at the Sandwich Islands."

Of this time he was the guest of the H. B. Co. continuously from Oct. 6, 1835, to July 14, 1836, when he reached Honolulu as a free passenger in the H. B. Co.'s ship.

(For Mr. Parker's grateful acknowledgments of the kindness he received at the various posts of the H. B. Co. and his enthusiastic commendations of the kind treatment of the Indians by the H. B. Co., Cf. "Parker's Journal of an Exploring Tour Beyond the Rocky Mts.," Ithaca, N. Y., 1838. (Pages 130, 131, 132, 148, 169, 172, 272, 273, 304, 347.)

Passing over the very kind reception of the Spalding-Whitman party in 1836 at Ft. Walla Walla, and the kindness of the H. B. Co. in furnishing them free transportation down the Columbia to Ft. Vancouver, and their hospitable reception there, where the two wives remained as guests from Sept. 12th to Nov. 3, 1836, while their husbands were selecting sites for missions and building houses, I can only find space to quote the following from Mrs. Whitman's Journal, under date of Sept. 16th. After describing the extensive farming and stock raising operations of the H. B. Co. at Vancouver, and their mills there and at Colville, she says:

"Dr. McLoughlin promises to lend us enough to make a beginning, and all the return he asks is that we supply other settlers in the same way. He appears desirous to afford us every facility for living in his power. No person could have received a more hearty welcome, or be treated with greater kindness than we have been since our arrival."

This generous offer to help these American Presbyterian missionaries to establish themselves, precisely as two years before he had helped the Methodist missionaries, and as McDonald, the H. B. Co.'s Chief Trader at Ft. Colville, helped Spalding in 1836 and in 1838 helped Eells and Walker, with the gift of wheat and other grains, and vegetables for seed and provisions, till they could raise a crop, and with the loan of cattle and hogs, and farming implements, with no wish for any other return except that they should "pass the good deed along," by "Helping others in the same way," was the curious manner in which the great-hearted McLoughlin, the true "Father of Oregon," head of the H. B. Co. in Oregon, and whose word was absolute law at all their posts west of the Rockies from 1824 to 1845, though himself a Catholic, "opposed the American occupation of Oregon," by Protestant missionaries, and he took the same



remarkable way of "opposing the establishment of American settlers," by treating the great migrations of 1842, 1843, 1844 and 1845 in precisely the same way, except that as there were so many of them, and they were not missionaries, he *did* expect them to pay, from the crops they should raise, the advances he made to them, without which advances there must have been great suffering among them.

May 5, 1837, Dr. Whitman, in an eight-page foolscap letter to D. Greene, Secy., wrote:

"At Vancouver we were received in the kindest manner by Dr. McLoughlin, Chief Factor, etc., and by all the other gentlemen of the Company. After obtaining such supplies as we needed for building and exploring and making arrangements for future supplies, we returned to explore and build, leaving our wives at Vancouver. . . . The present worship of the Indians was established by the traders of the H. B. Co. It consists of singing and a form of prayer taught them, after which the Chief gives them a talk. It has had a favorable influence on them in rendering them more civil and little addicted to steal. Some of the leading truths of civilization have been taught them.

A system of punishment for crime, established by the traders, has done much good."

Turn now to Mrs. Spalding's Diary, and we find the following:

"July 9, 1836" (at the Rendezvous on Green River).—"A trader of the H. B. Co., with a party of men, has arrived and camped near. . . . He has kindly invited us to travel with his company, promising to afford us all the assistance in his power."

Aug. 3, 1836, of their reception at Ft. Hall, she wrote:

"Arrived at this place a little after noon; were invited to dine at the fort, where we again had a taste of bread." Aug. 20, 1836, at Snake Fort or Ft. Boise she wrote: "Have received many favors from the gentlemen of the fort." Sept. 3, 1836, at Ft. Walla Walla, she wrote: "Reached this post today. Mr. Pambrun, the clerk in charge of this establishment, kindly received us into his dwelling as guests, for which may we feel true gratitude." Sept. 13, 1836, at Ft. Vancouver: "Reached this place yesterday. . . . Met with the warmest expressions of friendship and find ourselves in the midst of civilization, where the luxuries of this life seem to abound."

In the *Missionary Herald* for October, 1838 (p. 387), is a summary of a letter of Mr. Spalding, dated Sept. 4, 1837, in which after brief description of Ft. Colville, then in charge of Mr. McDonald, and stating that the Company raised 3,500 bushels of grain and an equal quantity of potatoes there, it continues:

"Mr. McDonald kindly furnished Mr. Spalding" (not with "a quart of seed wheat," but) "with 35 bushels of grain, 1,200 weight of flour, a yoke of oxen and three swine to aid him in beginning his new establishment among the Nez Percés, besides numerous other articles for the comfort of his family."

A later letter of Mr. Spalding shows that these supplies were a free gift.

March 15, 1838, Mr. Spalding wrote a letter to D. Greene, Secy. (from which I think nothing has yet been published), in which after stating cost of flour at Vancouver, he continued:

"The reason of my asking flour from Boston was to provide for extremities, as we were told several times while on our journey by a gentleman who had spent some time at Vancouver that we must not expect many favors from Vancouver and Walla Walla. But the Lord ordered it otherwise, and we find in the gentlemen of the Hon. Hudson's Bay Co. a disposition to render us every possible favor. Of course there is no reason why this should pass from your room. . . . Doct. McLoughlin leaves this Spring for England, passing with the express to Montreal, and has expressed a determination to visit Boston if possible. He will receive a letter of introduction from us to the Secretaries of the Board. Should he call he will take pleasure in giving you all the information you may wish respecting this country. In a former letter I have mentioned his strong desire that the Board should commence immediately a mission in the lower country. As you will have seen in a former letter, he speaks very favorably of the Cowlitz."

No wonder that all advocates of the Whitman Legend have avoided quoting this letter! Some of the later advocates of the Whitman Legend, notably Nixon and Mowry, finding the evidence of McLoughlin's kindness to the missionaries and to other Americans to be irresistible, have not only disingenuously refrained from quoting any considerable part of it, but have striven to create the impression that he was an exception in this matter. Let us turn aside from Spalding a moment and see what light Whitman's letters furnish on this point.

Oct. 30th, 1838, he wrote a three-and-one-fourth-page (large letter paper) epistle to D. Greene, Secy., in which, after an account of the 1838 meeting of the mission, he continues:

"I was appointed by the meeting to go to Vancouver to obtain supplies for the mission. I found Mr. Douglass now in charge, equally as accommodating as Dr. McLoughlin has been."

The reader is referred to the other letters and extracts from diaries herein for the unanswerable proof that these missionaries received equal kindness from all the other H. B. Co. officers with whom they came in contact, McLeod, McKay, Payette, Pambrun, McKinlay, McDonald, Ermatinger, John Lee Lewis and Peter Skeen Ogden, and with the rigid discipline of that Company it goes without saying that the employes generally were as kind to the missionaries as their superiors in rank. The correspondence and diaries of these missionaries during the whole existence of the mission give no support to the claims made by Revs. Myron and Edwin Eells, since the

publication of my "History vs. the Whitman Saved Oregon Story," that

"While the officers of the H. B. Co. were generally friendly, the employes were at all times hostile and bitter towards the missionaries."

Spalding to D. Greene, Secy., Sept. 11, 1838 (a nine-page letter, hitherto unpublished). After defending himself and Whitman from the charge that they were devoting too much of their time to farming he goes on:

"The question will be asked, has not the Hudson's Bay Company several establishments in the country where large quantities of grain are raised every year? Yes; two, Vancouver and Colville. But these and all other posts of the Co. in the country are for a specified object, and did the gentlemen in charge adhere strictly to their instructions, no missionary or settler could receive any article of anything from these posts except for beaver, and no provisions for that, as they are raised only at two stations to any extent, viz., Vancouver and Colville, and at these only sufficient to meet the wants of the Co., the former designed for the shipping and the posts on or near the coast, the latter for the posts in the interior. But the gentlemen in charge of these stations have seen fit to treat us with the greatest kindness and to furnish us as yet with every needed merchandise, for which they have been blamed from the other side of the Mts., and with sufficient provisions for our two families to begin with. But these supplies, especially provisions, have ever been furnished us as a favor and not in the way of trade, and for this truly great favor I trust we ever shall be truly thankful; but while we remember these favors and bless God for so wonderfully providing for us in the infancy of our Mission, I hope that none of us will bring ourselves to think that because we are missionaries, we are therefore not to be regulated by the rules that regulate gentlemen in their intercourse with each other, but grasp all favors we can get and ask for more, which would not only certainly make it necessary for the Company sooner or later to deny us and throw us on our own resources, but bring ourselves and perhaps the Board into disgrace. Consequently your mission in this country cannot depend on the Hudson's Bay Company for supplies of provisions. Doubtless a station in the region of Colville would receive, as I have, abundance of provisions for one or two years till it could sustain itself, provided the Yankee be not too pronounced in questions, etc., such as 'What do you charge a pound for pork?' 'What will you let me have a bushel of wheat for?' 'Can I get a pound of sugar here?' Mr. McDonald gave me to understand when here that the supplies of provisions I received last fall was all that the Fort could safely part with, and that was furnished as a favor, as all supplies from that Fort would be, and not in the way of trade. And here let me say that the favors which we have received from Mr. McDonald and wife have not been few nor of little consequence to us. Besides the supplies furnished us for a given price, which are no less favors for being sold, and frequent presents of a bag of fine flour, a ham, a side of pork, buffalo tongues, etc., etc., there has been no charge for the first supply of provisions in 1836, the amount of which I will give you when I am certain it is not to be charged."



Sept. 22, 1838, Spalding to D. Greene, Secy. (hitherto unpublished).

Besides a financial statement of the mission it contains the following:

"As we are not in a country of trade, except for beaver, all our supplies are furnished as favors and not in the way of barter. They are furnished us at only eighty per cent advance on the prime cost in London. We feel ourselves greatly favored that we can receive our supplies in this country without being obliged to wait two or four years for their arrival from Boston."

#### TREATMENT OF THE 1838 RE-ENFORCEMENT TO THE WHITMAN-SPALDING MISSION BY THE H. B. CO.

Let us examine now the vigor with which Mr. McDonald, the H. B. Co. officer in charge at Ft. Colville, "opposed" the establishment of a mission station by Revs. E. Walker and C. Eells.

The proper spelling of this post is Colville, it having been named in honor of a Mr. Colville, not ville.

A full account of the H. B. Co.'s "opposition" to the establishment of this mission station is given in the Diary of Rev. E. Walker, as follows:

"Ft. Colville, Monday, Sept. 17, 1838." Having that morning eaten the last mouthful of the provisions which they had taken with them when they started from Whitman's station to explore for a location for their mission station, the journal reads:

"We reached here about one this day. Received a cordial welcome from Mr. McDonald and lady."

"Wednesday, Sept. 19th.—After dinner I opened the subject of our coming. Found Mr. McDonald favorably disposed and willing to assist us. This was a great relief to my mind. We purposed starting tomorrow, but he thought it not best, so have altered our determination. . . . Mr. McDonald promised to send tools to us at Big Head's place, so we shall be saved the trouble with them on the route."

"Thursday, September 20th.—Received a present of two pairs of moccasins this morning from Mr. McDonald. . . . He seems more and more interested. He has engaged to give us what supplies we want for the journey and to send some on for us while building, and told us if we want more to send for them. . . . Mr. McDonald said he felt very anxious that our station should exceed all the rest in this country."

"Friday, Sept. 21st.—We did not get prepared to start till nearly eleven; but when we did we found ourselves well prepared with provisions through the kindness of Mr. McDonald and lady."

"He sent for an Indian, one of the Ponderays, and told him he must take care of our animals and packs, and must not expect any pay for it, for we came with the Bible and Testament to do them good. They must do all we wanted them to. Accordingly, we had but very little trouble with our packs and animals."

After traveling about for five days, they decided to locate at Tshimakain (The Place of a Spring,) (the place recommended by Mr. McDonald), about 65 miles south of Colvile, and not finding any tools and supplies were worrying about them when

"To our joy the Indian sent by Mr. McDonald arrived soon after dinner with two axes, 10 lbs. of Indian meal, 30 lbs. flour, 10 lbs. of buffalo meat (dried), 15 lbs. of bacon, all of the first quality, making 95 lbs. in all. Big Head" (the Indian chief on whose land they had located) "gave us some potatoes soon after, so that we have a good stock of provisions at present, enough to last us what time we wanted to stay."

Though this diary has been for quite a number of years among the mss. of the Or. Hist. Soc., no advocate of the Whitman Saved Oregon Story has ever given his readers an opportunity to know about these or the various other acknowledgments it makes of the constant kindness of the H. B. Co. in establishing this mission station, and aiding it during its whole existence.

Several advocates of the Whitman Saved Oregon Story, notably Gray, Barrows and Craighead, have declared that after the Catholic missionaries reached Oregon (which was in 1838), there was a marked change for the worse in the actions of the H. B. Co. towards Americans.

Let us see what the contemporary record says.

July 13, 1841, Dr. Whitman wrote a six-page letter to D. Greene, Secy. (from which nothing has yet been published), in which we find the following:

"Your fears lest our good understanding with the gentlemen of the Hudson's Bay Co. should have been interrupted are not well founded, for it has remained undisturbed up to this date; indeed we never were on better terms than at present. I believe I have told you that Mr. McLoughlin and Mr. Pambrun were the only two professed Catholics among the gentlemen of the Company with whom we have to do business. To the hour of Mr. Pambrun's death" (which was in May, 1841), "without interruption we were growing more and more in confidence and kind offices."

Mr. Pambrun had been continuously in charge of Ft. Walla Walla, only 25 miles from Whitman's Station, from 1832 to 1841, and every American who went there in all those years and has left any record spoke in the highest terms of his kindness and hospitality.

Mr. Pambrun's successor in charge of Ft. Walla Walla was the sturdy Scotch Presbyterian, Archibald McKinlay, who remained in command there till February, 1846.

He was a warm friend of the Whitmans, and in Oct., 1841, when the Indians became much incensed at the missionaries, and assaulted both Whitman and Gray, only McKinlay's in-

fluence and action in their behalf prevented the destruction of the mission. (Cf. on this Whitman's own letter of Nov. 18, 1841, to D. Greene, Secy., copied by Mrs. Whitman in one of hers, and published in *Tr. O. P. A.*, 1891, pp. 154-162; and the following from E. Walker's *Diary*:

"Oct. 29th, 1841.—Mr. Eells came. He brings sad news from below. They have hard times with the Indians at Wailatpu, and the Doctor came very near losing his life.")

So strong was the friendship of Whitman for McKinlay, that when he started for the States he left his wife under McKinlay's charge, and did not, as the Whitmanites say, arrange for her to go to the Methodist mission at the Dalles, the invitation for her to go there not having been received till some time after he left, as is explicitly stated in Mrs. Whitman's letter to her husband, dated March 29, 1843 (being No. 105, Vol. 138, *Am. Bd. Letters*), from which nothing has yet been published.

Whitman's statement to the Prudential Committee of the American Board at Boston on April 4, 1843, contains the following sentence:

"The traders at Walla Walla decidedly friendly and accommodating."

Oct. 26, 1845, Dr. Whitman to D. Greene, Secretary (covering seven pages large sized letter paper):

"Mr. Ogden passed down in August last, but was not able to visit us. But Mr. McKinlay, his son-in-law, came up immediately and gave us his kindest assurances, together with much interesting information. Mr. Ogden comes back to become the General Superintendent of the Company's business in this country and vicinity, and is to travel most of his time from Post to Post, while Mr. Douglas is to remain at Vancouver and succeed Dr. McLoughlin, who soon retires on his own private account and settles at the Falls of the Willamette on the S. side of which he is the proprietor."

MCBEAN IN COMMAND AT WALLA WALLA AFTER FEBRUARY, 1846, SHAMEFULLY SLANDERED BY THE WHITMANITES.

McKinlay's successor was McBean, who, like Pambrun, was a Catholic. He has been the target for unlimited abuse from the Whitmanites, copying Gray's and Spalding's slanders of him, but a careful study of the contemporaneous documents that they have all carefully suppressed will convince any candid mind that, although not by nature as genial a man as Pambrun, nor as fearless and tactful in dealing with Indians as McKinlay, he was an honorable and humane man, in no way responsible for the Whitman massacre, which, it is probable, would not have happened had Whitman been willing to heed the warning



and kindly advice given him by McBean and Paul Kane, the artist, on July 23-24, 1847. (Cf. for this, "Wanderings of an Artist Among the Indians of North America," by Paul Kane, London, 1859, pp. 281-283.)

Kane made a swift night ride from Walla Walla to Wailatpu, conveying McBean's and his own warning of great danger, and a pressing invitation from McBean to

"Come to the fort, for a while at least, until the Indians have cooled down; but he (Whitman) said he had lived so long amongst them and had done so much for them that he did not apprehend they would injure him."

Turn now again to the records of the station of Eells and Walker, and see whether or not there was any "change" in the treatment of these missionaries by the H. B. Co. "after the Catholic missionaries reached Oregon, in 1838."

The house in which Rev. C. Eells lived was burned, Jan. 11, 1841, and March 6, 1841, Rev. C. Eells wrote to D. Greene, Secretary, a letter, the essential parts of which were printed in the *Missionary Herald*, for October, 1841. After giving an account of the fire he continues:

"Mr. McDonald, who is in charge of Ft. Colville, on hearing of our misfortune, unasked, dispatched four men immediately, and they soon made our house habitable. Two gentlemen of the Hudson's Bay Co., Messrs. McLean and McPherson, volunteered their services to assist in whatever was necessary to be done, and came at the same time with them, or rather led the march.

"All camped upon the ground when the mercury must have been not less than ten below zero, and the snow from six inches to one foot in depth. This is but a specimen of the unvarying kindness shown us by the gentlemen of the Hudson's Bay Co., with whom we have had any particular intercourse or connexion."

No advocate of the Whitman Legend has ever quoted this letter, or alluded to this action of the H. B. Co.

Rev. E. Walker's Diary, under date of Sunday, Jan. 17, 1841, reads as follows:

"Just as the sun was setting Mr. McLean and Mr. McPherson rode up with 4 men to assist in repairing the burnt house and bringing letters to Mr. Eells and myself from Mr. McDonald.

"They were more or less frozen and suffered much on the route."

March 18, 1845, Rev. C. Eells wrote an eight-page letter to D. Greene, Secretary, in which is the following concerning Mr. McDonald, who till September, 1844, had remained continuously since 1838, in charge of Fort Colville, and was the nearest white neighbor they had; and who had left Ft. Colville, in September, 1844, to take his children where they could be educated:

"The kindness of that estimable family towards us was unabated to the last. The politeness and cordiality with which we have ever

been welcomed to their generous hospitality, the prompt and cheerful manner in which they have attended to frequent calls for assistance and the numerous unsolicited and gratuitous favors they have conferred upon us deserve grateful acknowledgment."

No Whitmanite has quoted this letter.

John Lee Lewes succeeded McDonald at Ft. Colville, and was equally kind to these missionaries.

#### THE ACTIONS OF THE H. B. CO. AFTER THE WHITMAN MASSACRE.

Rev. E. Walker to D. Greene, April 3, 1848, says that on Dec. 9, 1847, when the news of the Whitman massacre reached them they sent an express to Ft. Colville, and Mr. Lewes at once replied, urging if there seemed to them any danger that they

"Fly to this establishment one and all without delay, and I will do my best for your protection till we can find the means to convey you all to Vancouver, or till the times of peace return again, making it safe for you to return to your own abode."

They remained at Tshimakain till Wednesday, March 15th, but the following extracts from Mrs. Walker's journal will show how earnestly solicitous Mr. Lewes was for their safety:

"Saturday, Feb. 12, 1848.—An express from Colville; Mr. Lewes alarmed about us in consequence of Indian rumors. We are much perplexed to know what to do. We fear to go; we fear to stay."

"Sunday, 13th.—This p. m. another express arrived from Colville. Affairs there have taken a serious turn. The men are under arms and in alarm for themselves and for us."

"Sunday, 20th.—Another letter from Mr. Lewes. He has also sent a Canadian to remain a while."

"Friday, March 10th.—Thos. Roy left for Colville this morning."

"Sunday, March 12th.—Frederick Lewes (son of John Lee Lewes) and Thomas Roy arrived. Mr. Lewes seems rather afraid to have us remain longer."

"Monday, March 13th.—We conclude that it is best to remove to Colville for a while."

"Wednesday, March 15th.—We left home about noon, perhaps to return no more."

"Saturday, March 18th.—We reached Colville about noon, where we received a cordial welcome."

The two families remained guests of Mr. Lewes till June 1, 1848, when they left under an escort of the First Oregon Riflemen, and under date of June 1, 1848 (in a 22-page letter in the form of a Diary), to Rev. D. Greene, Secretary, Rev. C. Eells wrote:

"With emotions which we cannot well express for the great kindness and invaluable assistance of John Lee Lewes, Esq., we took leave of that worthy gentleman."

No sooner did the intelligence of the Whitman massacre reach Ft. Vancouver than James Douglas and P. S. Ogden fitted out two boats, and with sixteen men and an ample supply of Indian goods, started them under the command of Ogden to Ft. Walla Walla, about 300 miles up the Columbia. Making utmost possible speed, they reached Walla Walla, December 19, and Ogden immediately began negotiations for the ransom of the fifty-one captives at Whitman's station, and the nine at Spalding's station, who were virtually captives, since the Nez Perces would only allow them to leave on payment by Ogden of a ransom, and so vigorously did he prosecute his mission of mercy that Jan. 1, 1848, the sixty ransomed ones were at Walla Walla, and the next day they started down the river, and in due time Mr. Ogden delivered them in safety at Oregon City.

The whole history of Indian massacres since the settlement of America began shows no other instance where so many captives were so quickly rescued, with no fighting, and with no overwhelming military force menacing the Indians.

The Oregon Spectator, the only paper then published in Oregon, in its issue of January 20, 1848, printed the following letter:

"Oregon City, 17 Jan., 1848.

"Sir:—I feel it a duty as well as a pleasure to tender you my sincere thanks and the thanks of this community for your exertions in behalf of the widows and orphans that were left in the hands of the Cayuse Indians.

"Their state was a deplorable one, subject to the caprice of savages, exposed to their insults, compelled to labor for them, and remaining constantly in dread lest they should be butchered, as their husbands and fathers had been.

"From this state I am fully satisfied we could not relieve them.

"A small party of Americans would have been looked upon by them with contempt; a large party would have been the signal for a general massacre.

"Your immediate departure from Vancouver on receipt of the intelligence from Wailatpu enabling you to arrive at Walla Walla before the news of the American party having started from this place reached them, together with your influence over the Indians, accomplished the desirable object of relieving the distressed.

"Your exertions in behalf of the prisoners will no doubt cause a feeling of pleasure to you through life, but this does not relieve them nor us from obligations we are under to you.

"You have also laid the American Government under obligations to you, for their citizens were the subjects of the massacre, and their widows and orphans are the relieved ones. With a sincere prayer that the widows' God and the Father of the Fatherless may reward you for your kindness, I have the honor to remain, sir, Your obedient servant,

George Abernethy,

"Governor of Oregon Territory.

"To Peter Skeen Ogden, Esq., Chief Factor Honorable Hudson's Bay Company, Vancouver."



For this expenditure of time and labor, and of property paid for the ransom of these American citizens, no bill was ever rendered by the Hudson's Bay Company, either to the National Government or to that of Oregon, nor was any payment ever made to the Hudson's Bay Company by either government for this service and expenditure.

No other man in Oregon was as competent to judge of the inestimable value of the prompt and entirely voluntary action of the H. B. Co. in this rescue as Gov. Abernethy, who went out as a lay member of the 1840 re-enforcement to the Methodist Mission, and for several years managed the secular business of that mission, and in 1845 was chosen governor under the Provisional Government of Oregon, and by successive re-elections continued in that position till, on March 3, 1849, the Provisional Government was superseded by the regularly organized United States Territorial Government.

There was no more patriotic American than Abernethy, and no other man in Oregon knew so thoroughly what were the resources of the Provisional Government for rescuing these captives, and for waging a war with the Indians, and no one was less likely to be swayed by any liking for the Hudson's Bay Company into over-estimating the value of their services in this rescue; and there is not a shadow of a doubt but what this letter to Ogden was fully endorsed by every American then living in Oregon—even by Rev. H. H. Spalding and W. H. Gray—though a few months later, with absolutely no evidence to sustain the charge, they accused the H. B. Co. and the Catholics of instigating the massacre, which was as shameful and baseless a slander as was ever uttered.

Turn now to the very brief record of the overland trip of the 1838 re-enforcement to the Am. Bd. Mission.

Mrs. Eells' Diary, under date of Friday, July 27, 1838, reads:

"Arrive at Ft. Hall. Received kindly by all at the fort."

"Sunday, July 29th.—About 10 o'clock Mr. Ermatinger comes to invite to breakfast; says he has just got up. After breakfast he comes to again to invite us to have preaching at the Fort. Afternoon, Mr. Eells preaches in the dining room to some fifty or sixty hearers.

"Tuesday, July 31st.—Make arrangements for moving camp..... Mr. Ermatinger gives ten pounds of sugar.

"Wednesday, August 15th.—...encamp on the river opposite Fort Boise; feasted with milk, butter, turnips, pumpkin and salmon.

"Thursday, August 16th.—Milk and plenty of vegetables to eat.

"Friday, August 17th.—Some of the gentlemen at the Post send us a piece of sturgeon for breakfast.

"Sunday, August 19th.—Mr. Payton (Payette) sends us another sturgeon" (Cf. Tr. O. P. A., 1889, pp. 83, 86-7).

ERMATINGER AND THE FIRST WAGONS THROUGH TO THE COLUMBIA IN 1840.

Ermatinger was continuously in command of Ft. Hall from 1838 to late in the Autumn of 1841, and treated with utmost kindness all parties of Americans on their way to Oregon.

How he was regarded by the missionaries appears from the following from p. 153 of Farnham's "Travels in the Great Western Prairies, the Anahuac and Rocky Mts. and in the Oregon Ty." Poughkeepsie, 1841. New York, (2 editions, 1843). London, (2 vols. edition, 1843).

Farnham spent Sept. 23 to 30, 1839, at Whitman's Station, and under date of Sept. 27th wrote:

"In the afternoon of this date, the arrival of Mr. Ermetinger" (should be *mat* not *met* W. I. M.) "the senior clerk at Fort Hall from Fort Walla Walla created quite a sensation. His uniform kindness to the missionaries has endeared him to them."

In August, 1840, J. L. Meek, Robt. Newell and Caleb Wilkins, three American trappers, weary of the dangers, hardships and poor rewards of that pursuit, determined to go to the Willamette Valley and settle.

Newell owned two wagons, and Wilkins one, which had been abandoned at Ft. Hall, in 1839 and 1840, by parties migrating to Oregon, precisely as Whitman's cart had been at Ft. Boise in 1836, "On account of the fatigue of their animals."

Ermatinger bought one of Newell's wagons, and the four men, having outfitted at Ft. Hall, drove these three wagons, in August and September, 1840, through to Whitman's Station, and to Ft. Walla Walla—the first wagons beyond any question that ever were driven through to the Columbia.

A full account of this is given in Trans. Or. Pi. Asscn, 1877 (pp. 22-24).

These three wagons had demonstrated beyond any dispute that whenever a company of fifty or more resolute men, suitably equipped, should attempt the task, they could drive a train of loaded wagons through to the Columbia with very little difficulty or delay on the journey.

If Whitman had been concerning himself at all about the question of the wagon road to the Columbia, he certainly would have promptly written of the arrival of these wagons at his station; but there is not one word about the matter in any letter of either Mr. or Mrs. Whitman, or any other member of the mission.

The foolish quarrel between the Whitmans and the Spaldings (which eventuated in the destructive order of the Board in February, 1842, for the discontinuance of Smith's, Spalding's

and Whitman's Stations, and the recall to the States of Spalding and Gray, to procure the rescission of which order and get help for the mission, was the sole cause of Whitman's Ride), was begun in the States in 1836, continued, and reconciled twice on that 1836 journey to Oregon, only to break out afresh and reach such a height in 1839 that Whitman himself wrote, in his 14-page letter of Oct. 15, 1840, to Rev. D. Greene, Secretary (from which nothing has yet been published), as follows:

(P. 12.) "Mr. Gray has lately informed me that letters have been sent by him and others setting forth differences that have existed in this mission.

"It was never my intention to trouble you with them, though I have thought them of such a nature that Mrs. Whitman and myself must leave the mission, and so strong was this feeling that I should have left previous to the convening of the Mission in 1839 had not the Providence of God arrested me in my deliberate determination to do so by taking away in so sudden a manner our dear child by drowning."

This quarrel was in its most virulent stage from March, 1840, to June, 1842, and though Gray, Whitman, Mrs. Whitman, Rev. A. B. Smith, Rev. C. Eells and Rev. E. Walker could find time between March, 1840, and June, 1842, to write more than a hundred pages in letters to the Am. Bd. and to their friends, and in their diaries, about this senseless quarrel, no one of them found time to write one word about these three wagons getting through in 1840.

The simple fact that not only were these wagons outfitted at Ft. Hall (where, according to the Whitman Legend, there existed intense and continued hostility to any wagons going through to the Columbia), but that Frederic Ermatinger—the H. B. Co.'s trader in command of Ft. Hall continuously from 1838 to late in the Autumn of 1841—bought, outfitted, and drove one of them through, of itself reduces to senseless drivel all the scores of pages which Gray, Spalding, Barrows, Nixon, M. Eells, Craighead, Mrs. Eva Emery Dye, D. H. Montgomery (in his "Leading Facts (?) in American History"), Penrose, Mowry and the other Whitmanites have written about the H. B. Co. opposing the taking of wagons beyond Ft. Hall.

NO WHITMANITE HAS EVER BEEN HONEST ENOUGH TO STATE  
ERMATINGER'S SHARE IN DRIVING THROUGH THE FIRST  
WAGONS TO THE COLUMBIA IN 1840, NOR THAT  
THEY WERE OUTFITTED AT FT. HALL.

No Whitmanite—in book or magazine article—has ever yet referred his readers to the account of this in the 1877 "Trans.," and though a few of the later advocates of the Whitman



Legend have admitted that three wagons went through in 1840, yet, as the whole Whitman Saved Oregon Story crumbles to dust, if there was not constant opposition at Ft. Hall to wagons going through to the Columbia, not a single advocate of the Legend who has admitted that wagons went through in 1840 has been honest enough to give his readers the least intimation that they were outfitted at Ft. Hall, nor that they had been left there by their owners "on account of the fatigue of their animals," and not on account of any opposition of the H. B. Co., and much less that Ermatinger had anything to do with them.

REV. M. EELLS' INGENUOUS CONCEALMENT OF ALL THE VITAL  
FACTS ABOUT THE 1840 WAGONS.

For example: Rev. M. Eells, in his "Reply to Prof. Bourne," in two references to these wagons (about which he was fully informed) thus ingeniously avoids mentioning Ermatinger's name, or otherwise giving his readers any information of any value about them.

(Reply, p. 111.) "He" (i. e., Dr. Whitman) "knew that in 1840 Dr. Robert Newell, Col. Joseph L. Meek and two others had taken three wagons to Walla Walla," and (p. 116) "When four years later" (i. e., than 1836) "Dr. Robert Newell and Company took three wagons to Walla Walla, the enemy was again overcome."

The "enemy" being the H. B. Co.!!!

MRS. DYE'S RIDICULOUS FICTIONS ABOUT ERMATINGER.

Mrs. Dye, in "McLoughlin and Old Oregon," heads her Chapter XXII, "Ermatinger Guards the Frontier," and in blissful ignorance of the fact that he was in charge there in 1838 and 1839 and in equal ignorance of his share in driving these first wagons through to the Columbia, represents him as having been sent to Ft. Hall in 1840, to prevent wagons going beyond Ft. Hall, and to deceive the Missionaries and other Americans about the practicability of a wagon road to the Columbia!

If, in all the historical romances ever written, there is a chapter more directly contrary to the facts than this chapter XXII of Mrs. Dye's book, it is doubtless some one—or all—of the several other chapters in the book, in which she draws on her very vivid and exhaustless imagination for the statements she makes in advocating the Whitman Saved Oregon Story.

Contemporaneous evidence as conclusive against each and every other part of the Whitman Saved Oregon Story and against the claim that Whitman was in any sense a great or

an especially patriotic man, as that herein adduced is against the claim that the H. B. Co.'s archives furnish proof that Whitman Saved Oregon, and against the seven other claims herein disproved, is for the first time to be made accessible to the public in my "History of the Acquisition of Oregon, and the Long Suppressed Evidence About Marcus Whitman," all that is of real importance in *that* evidence, on every other point needful to understanding the truth about the matter, having been as carefully suppressed by the Whitmanites as has all the important evidence herein quoted; but the scope of and the space available for this article will allow no further quotations of it here.

#### THE H. B. CO. AND THE AMERICAN SETTLEMENT OF OREGON.

The chapter in that book on "The Truth About the Relation of the Hudson's Bay Company to the American Exploration, Occupation and Settlement of the Oregon Territory" must completely revolutionize the commonly accepted ideas on that subject which have been so assiduously inculcated for the past forty years by the advocates of the Whitman Legend, since it will for the first time make accessible to the public not what was uttered and published by the unscrupulous politicians and reckless newspaper writers, (who, under the lead of Thomas H. Benton, constituted the "Oregon jingoes" from 1818 to 1846), no one of whom had ever been within a thousand miles of any Hudson's Bay Company's post in the Oregon Territory, nor the vague and contradictory "recollections" 25 to 50 years after the event of men like Gray and Spalding, but all the contemporaneous evidence obtainable (both published and hitherto unpublished) in letters, or diaries, or books, or magazine or newspaper articles, or in reports to the National Government of *all* the Americans, fur traders, scientists, pleasure travelers, Government agents or explorers, missionaries or leaders of migrations, who actually went to Oregon and came in contact with the Hudson's Bay Company's officers and men at their various posts there during all the years to the fixing of the boundary in 1846.

As all that testimony (being twenty times as much as is herein quoted) is as favorable to the H. B. Co. as are these few extracts which prove beyond any possibility of doubt that the Company rendered Whitman and all his associates aid that was indispensable in founding and maintaining their several mission stations, and continued their kind offices to and friendly relations with all these missionaries as long as the mission existed, I cannot more fittingly close these few extracts from

the letters and diaries of these missionaries than by quoting the concluding paragraphs of that chapter, as follows:

Are we to understand from the evidence adduced in this chapter that McLoughlin, McKinlay, Douglas, Grant, Pambrun, Ogden, Payette, McDonald, Lewes, Birnie, Ermatinger and the other Chief Factors and Chief Traders of the Hudson's Bay Company desired American missionaries and settlers to occupy Oregon?

Not at all.

They were British subjects and unquestionably, as all loyal British subjects ought to have done, they hoped and expected that the British title would be established to the region N. and W. of the Columbia, which was all that was really in dispute after 1824.

But they also unquestionably knew that under the treaty of Joint Policy of 1818, renewed in 1827, American citizens had exactly the same rights in Oregon that British subjects had, and their interests were so vast in that territory that that "enlightened selfishness" which ever characterized the policy of the Hudson's Bay Co. would, of itself, have caused them to strictly observe the spirit of that treaty, and treat Americans with justice. But, beyond this, several of these men, notably McLeod, McKay, McLoughlin, McKinlay, Douglas, Ogden, Grant, McDonald, Pambrun and Lewes, were men of great natural ability and high character, fit to rank among "Nature's noblemen," measured by any reasonable standard, and their broad humanity and natural nobility of character manifested itself in their whole course, as shown by the evidence herein quoted.

They also knew well what the advocates of the Whitman Saved Oregon Legend have never yet learned (witness Mowry's "Marcus Whitman," published in 1901), Rev. M. Eells' "Reply to Prof. Bourne" (1902), Rev. Joseph R. Clark's "Leavening of the Nation" (1903), and "Heroes of the Cross in America," by D. C. Shelton (1904), viz., that by the express terms of the treaties of 1818 and 1827, as understood by both governments, no posts or settlements that the subjects or citizens of either nation might establish while those treaties remained in force could settle, or in the least degree affect the right of either nation to any part of the Oregon Territory.

The question is not what did the H. B. Co. desire, for undoubtedly they desired, and ought to have desired, that Americans should not be in Oregon at all, but that it should be a part of the British dominions.

The question is, What did the Hudson's Bay Company *do* when that which they did *not* desire happened, and Americans



came into the Oregon Territory as fur traders, missionaries, scientific explorers, travelers, government exploring expeditions, and settlers?

That is the question which I have sought to answer in this chapter in the only way in which historical questions can be settled, i. e., by quoting the best possible evidence, to wit, all the contemporaneous testimony that I have been able to discover of those Americans themselves, with a little later evidence from a few of them and from other prominent Oregon pioneers, all of them of the highest character, all of them having no interest in the Hudson's Bay Company, and all men whose Americanism is undoubted, and all of them men who had exceptional facilities for knowing what were the real facts in the case.





